

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
<p>The public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing the burden, to the Department of Defense, Executive Service Directorate (0704-0188). Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.</p> <p><b>PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ORGANIZATION.</b></p>					
1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 01-10-2017		2. REPORT TYPE		3. DATES COVERED (From - To)	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE The Future of American Defense Policy				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) Frances K. Scott				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) HQ USAFA/DFLIB-REF 2354 FAIRCHILD DRIVE, STE 3A22 USAF ACADEMY CO 80840-6214				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE MCDERMOTT LIBRARY U.S. AIR FORCE ACADEMY USAF ACADEMY CO 80840-6214				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S) Special Bibliography Series #120	
12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT A					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES					
14. ABSTRACT This bibliography supports the 59th Academy Assembly held at the United States Air Force Academy, 17-20 October 2017. This year's topic encompasses four components, two of which are the focus. 1) Principles of Defense Policy: Interests, Justice, and Obligations 2) Defense Policy Choices: The Human and Economic Costs of War					
15. SUBJECT TERMS					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT	18. NUMBER OF PAGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT	b. ABSTRACT	c. THIS PAGE			19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER (Include area code)
U	U	U	UU	18	

**SPECIAL  
BIBLIOGRAPHY  
SERIES**

# **The Future of American Defense Policy**



**October 2017**

**SPECIAL  
BIBLIOGRAPHY  
SERIES**

**NO. 120**



## DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

McDERMOTT LIBRARY  
USAF ACADEMY, COLORADO

### INTRODUCTION

This *Special Bibliography Series*, Number 120, "The Future of American Defense Policy" was developed by the McDermott Library's Social Sciences Bibliographer and Reference Librarian, Frances K. Scott, in support of the 59th Academy Assembly to be held at the United States Air Force Academy, 17-20 October 2017.

Most items cited in the bibliography are included in the McDermott Library's collections, including on-line databases. This year's topic encompasses four components, two of which are the focus.

**(1) Principles of Defense Policy: Interests, Justice, and Obligations**

**(2) Defense Policy Choices: The Human and Economic Costs of War**

If you are a participant in this year's Academy Assembly (the Academy's oldest continuing annual event), we welcome you to your United States Air Force Academy. We hope that your stay in the Colorado Springs area will be rewarding and enjoyable and that you find this year's topic intellectually challenging.

This bibliography is available free of charge via the McDermott Library's web site. Comments may be sent to:

HQ USAFA/DFLIB-REF  
Attn: Ms. Frances K. Scott  
Social Sciences Bibliographer  
2354 Fairchild Drive, Ste 3B4  
USAF Academy CO 80840-6214  
Email: libinfo@usafa.edu

This (and all the previous issues of the *Special Bibliography Series*) is available on the library's web site at:

[https://afac.ent.sirsi.net/client/en\\_US/cadet/?rm=SPECIAL+BIBLIO0%7C%7C%7C1%7C%7C%7C0%7C%7C%7Ctrue](https://afac.ent.sirsi.net/client/en_US/cadet/?rm=SPECIAL+BIBLIO0%7C%7C%7C1%7C%7C%7C0%7C%7C%7Ctrue)

Comments about this year's bibliography or other library programs should be sent to the address above.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "David A. Schaffter", is positioned above the name and title.

**DAVID A. SCHAFFTER**  
Director (Interim),  
McDermott Library  
October 2017

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	DEFENSE POLICY DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN.....	1
II.	WAR COSTS: HUMAN AND FINANCIAL. ....	3
III.	WAR ETHICS AND HUMANITARIANISM.....	6
IV.	NATIONAL INTERESTS AND GLOBAL ORDER.....	8
V.	INDUSTRIAL BASE ACQUISITIONS.....	10
VI.	NATO BURDEN SHARING AND TREATIES.....	11
VII.	UN AND RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT.....	13

**I. DEFENSE POLICY DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN  
Books, Government Documents, and Report Literature**

- Binnendijk, Hans. *Friends, Foes, and Future Directions: U.S. Partnerships in a Turbulent World: Strategic Rethink*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2016.  
([https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1210.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1210.html))
- Brown, Harold and Joyce Winslow. *Star Spangled Security: Applying Lessons Learned Over Six Decades Safeguarding America*. Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2012.  
(UA 23 .B78449 2012)
- Brown, Seyom and Scales Robert H., eds. *US Policy in Afghanistan and Iraq: Lessons and Legacies* . Tower Center political studies. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2012.  
(DS 79.76 .U72 2012)
- Connable, Ben Natasha Lander and Kimberly Jackson. *Beating the Islamic State: Selecting a New Strategy for Iraq and Syria*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2017.  
([https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1562.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1562.html))
- Dobbins, James, et al. *Choices for America in a Turbulent World: Strategic Rethink*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2015.  
(REPORT LITERATURE RAND RR-1114-RC)([https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1114.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1114.html))
- Hooker Jr., R.D., ed. *Charting a Course: Strategic Choices for a New Administration*. Washington: National Defense University Press, 2016.  
(UA 23 .C5165 2016)
- McLean, Craig and Alan Patterson. *The Precautionary Principle in International Relations: Constructing Foreign and Defense Policy in an Age of Uncertainty*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2012.  
(JZ 1242 .M386 2012)
- Ochmanek, David, et al. *America's Security Deficit: Addressing the Imbalance Between Strategy and Resources in a Turbulent World: Strategic Rethink*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2015.  
(REPORT LITERATURE RAND RR-1223-RC)([https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1223.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1223.html))
- Pascual, Carlos and Jonathan Elkind, eds. *Energy Security: Economics, Politics, Strategies, and Implications*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2010.  
(HD 9502 .A2 E55115 2010)
- Ries, Charles P. *Improving Decisionmaking in a Turbulent World*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2016.  
(UA 23 .R547 2016)(<https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PE192.html>)
- Savitz, Scott, Miriam Matthews, and Sarah Weiland. *Assessing Impact to Inform Decisions: A Toolkit on Measures for Policymakers*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2017.  
(<https://www.rand.org/pubs/tools/TL263.html>)
- United States Congress, Office of Technology Assessment. *Building Future Security: Strategies for Restructuring the Defense Technology and Industrial Base*. Washington: GPO, 1992.  
(Gov. Doc: Y 3.T 22/2:2 SE 2)([http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/ota/Ota\\_1/DATA/1992/9205.PDF](http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/ota/Ota_1/DATA/1992/9205.PDF))

## JOURNALS

- Claus, Brian, et al. "Using the Oldest Military Force for the Newest National Defense." *Journal Of Strategic Security* 8, no. 4( Winter 2015): 1-22.
- Engin Akēay and Mehmet Turan Şahin. "Revisiting International and Regional Responses to the War in Syria With a Special Emphasis on Turkish Approach." *South-East European Journal of Political Science* 3, no. 1(2015): 75-94.
- Erbel, Mark. "The Underlying Causes of Military Outsourcing in the USA and UK: Bridging the Persistent Gap Between Ends, Ways and Means Since the Beginning of the Cold War." *Defence Studies* 17, no. 2(June 2017): 135-55.
- Evans, Michael. "American Defence Policy and the Challenge of Austerity: Some Implications for Southeast Asia." *Journal Of Southeast Asian Economies* 30, no. 2(August 2013): 164-78.
- Gerges, Fawaz A. "The Obama Approach to the Middle East: The End of America's Moment?" *International Affairs* 89, no. 2(March 2013): 299-321.
- Haglund, David G. ""In Considerable Doubt"? Canada and the Future of NATO." *Journal Of Military & Strategic Studies* 13, no. 3(Spring 2011): 1-18.
- Holt, Blaine D. "Europe, Where Is Your Strategy?" *American Foreign Policy Interests* 37, no. 3(May 2015-June 2015): 123-31.
- Iacob, Valentin. "CSDP Development Dynamics: Reference Points and Future Scenarios." *Strategic Impact* 53, no. 4(2014): 43-53.
- Perruche, Jean-Paul. "From Exception to Facilitator: What Place for France in the EU/NATO Partnership in the Post-Cold War Global World?" *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 12, no. 4(December 2014): 432-42.
- Simon, Luis. "Europe, the Rise of Asia and the Future of the Transatlantic Relationship." *International Affairs* 91, no. 5(September 2015): 969-89.
- van de Haar, Edwin. "Hayekian Spontaneous Order and the International Balance of Power." *Independent Review* 16, no. 1(Summer 2011): 101-18.

## II. WAR COSTS: HUMAN AND FINANCIAL Books, Government Documents, and Report Literature

- Belasco, Amy. *Uncertainties Facing DOD*. Washington: Congressional Research Service, 2015.
- Brown, Seyom and Scales Robert H., eds. *US Policy in Afghanistan and Iraq: Lessons and Legacies*. Tower Center political studies. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2012.  
(DS 79.76 .U72 2012)
- Fischer, Hannah. *A Guide to U.S. Military Casualty Statistics: Operation Freedom's Sentinel, Operation Inherent Resolve, Operation New Dawn, Operation Iraqi Freedom, and Operation Enduring Freedom*. Washington: Congressional Research Service, 2015.  
(<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RS22452.pdf>)
- Graetz, Michael J. *The End of Energy: The Unmaking of America's Environment, Security, and Independence*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011.  
(HD 9502 .U52 G685 2011)
- McCartney, James, and Molly Sinclair McCartney. *America's War Machine: Vested Interests, Endless Conflicts*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books, an imprint of St. Martin's Press, 2015.  
(UA 23 .M2353 2015)
- O'Hanlon, Michael E. *Budgeting for Hard Power: Defense and Security Spending Under Barack Obama*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2009.
- . *Healing the Wounded Giant: Maintaining Military Preeminence While Cutting the Defense Budget*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2013.  
(UA 23 .O386 2013)
- Pascual, Carlos and Jonathan Elkind, eds. *Energy Security: Economics, Politics, Strategies, and Implications*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2010.  
(HD 9502 .A2 E55115 2010)
- Ruttan, Vernon W. *Is War Necessary for Economic Growth? Military Procurement and Technology Development*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.  
(HC 79 .T4 R878 2006)
- Shatz, Howard. *U.S. International Economic Strategy in a Turbulent World*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2016.  
(HG 540 .S475 2016)([https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1521.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1521.html))
- Stiglitz, Joseph E. and Linda Bilmes. *The Three Trillion Dollar War: The True Cost of the Iraq Conflict*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2008.  
(DS 79.76 .S698 2008)
- Wenger, Jennie W., et al. *Are Current Military Education Benefits Efficient and Effective for the Services?* Santa Monica: RAND, 2017.  
([https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1766.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1766.html))

Williams, Lynn M. and Pat Towell. *FY2018 Defense Budget Request: The Basics* . Washington: Congressional Research Service, 2017.  
(<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R44866.pdf>)

## JOURNALS

"The \$3 Trillion War; Interview With J. Stiglitz." *NPQ: New Perspectives Quarterly* 25, no. 2(Spring 2008): 61-64.

Axworthy, Lloyd, and A. Walter Dorn. "New Technology for Peace & Protection: Expanding the R2p Toolbox ." *Daedalus* 145, no. 4(September 2016): 88-100.

Carafano, James Jay. "Future Technology and Ethics in War ." *Utah Law Review* 5(2013): 1263-69.

Corte, Stefaan, et al. "The Next Multiannual Financial Framework: From National Interest to Building a Common Future." *European View* 11, no. 1(2012): 127-29.

Degrassie Jr., Robert W. "Military Spending and Jobs." *Challenge* 26, no. 3( July 1983-August 1983): 4-15.

Du Boff, Richard B. "What Military Spending Really Costs." *Challenge* 32, no. 5(September 1989-October 1989): 4-10.

Felter, Joseph H. and Jacob N. Shapior. "Limiting Civilian Casualties As Part of a Winning Strategy: The Case of Courageous Restraint ." *Daedalus* 146, no. 1(Winter 2017): 44-58.

Gerges, Fawaz A. "The Obama Approach to the Middle East: The End of America's Moment?" *International Affairs* 89, no. 2(March 2013): 299-321.

Glover, Wiljeana J., et al. "Architecting the Future U.S. Military Psychological Health Enterprise Via Policy and Procedure Analysis." *Military Medicine* 180, no. 8(August 2015): 898-909.

Issacharoff, Lucas and Samuel Issacharoff. "Constitutional Implications of the Cost of War." *The University Of Chicago Law Review* 83, no. 1(2016): 169-98.

Khan, Mansur. "Is the USA a Declining Power?" *Strategic Studies* 32, no. 2-3(September 2012): 71-82.

Lazar, Seth. "Risky Killing and the Ethics of War." *Ethics* 126, no. 1(October 2015): 91-117.

Leon, Gabriel. "Soldiers or Politicians? Institutions, Conflict, and the Military's Role in Politics." *Oxford Economic Papers* 66, no. 2(April 2014): 533-56.

Lomborg, Bjorn. "Promises to Keep." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 6(November 2014-December 2014): 130-138.

Mann, David R. "Why We Fight: Understanding Military Participation Over the Life Cycle." *Journal Of Human Capital* 6, no. 4(Winter 2012): 279-315.



- Moon, Jeffrey. "The Budget Control Act of 2011: A Department of Defense Impact Assessment." *Armed Forces Comptroller* 59, no. 3(Summer 2014): 20-2.
- Odehnal, Jakub. "Military Expenditures and Free-Riding in NATO." *Peace Economics, Peace Science, & Public Policy* 21, no. 4(December 2015): 479-87.
- Sagan, Scott D. "The Changing Rules of War." *Daedalus* 146, no. 1(Winter 2017): 6-10.
- Warner, Sean. "Man-Day Support Cost Estimating." *Armed Forces Comptroller* 62, no. 1(Winter 2017): 35-39.
- Williams, Cindy. "Accepting Austerity." *Foreign Affairs* 92, no. 6(November 2013-December 2013): 54-64.

### III. WAR ETHICS AND HUMANITARIANISM

#### Books, Government Documents, and Report Literature

Rengger, N. J. *Just War and International Order: The Uncivil Condition in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.  
(U 21.2 .R45 2013)

Tripodi, Paolo, and Jessica Wolfendale, eds. *New Wars and New Soldiers: Military Ethics in the Contemporary World*. Farnham Surrey, UK; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011.  
(U 22 .N48 2011)

#### JOURNALS

Abiew, Francis Kofi. "Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Redefining a Role for "Kind-Hearted Gunmen"." *Criminal Justice Ethics* 29, no. 2(August 2010): 73-109.

Andreopoulos, George J., Leonid Lantsman, and Francis Kofi Abiew. "The Evolving Discourse on Human Protection.Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Redefining a Role for "Kind-Hearted Gunmen"." *Criminal Justice Ethics* 29, no. 2(August 2010): 71-9273-109.

Aral, Berdal. "A Need for a Global Ethics of Humanitarian Intervention by the United Nations." *Global Studies Journal* 8, no. 2(2015): 11-21.

Brown, Davis. "Introduction: The Just War Tradition and the Continuing Challenges to World Public Order." *Journal Of Military Ethics* 10, no. 3(September 2011): 125-32.

Carafano, James Jay. "Future Technology and Ethics in War." *Utah Law Review* 5(2013): 1263-69.

Fisher, David. "The Virtue of Justice and War." *Philosophia* 41, no. 2(June 2013): 361-71.

Foley, Conor. "The Evolving Legitimacy of Humanitarian Interventions." *Sur: International Journal On Human Rights* 10, no. 19(December 2013): 74-93.

Gierycz, Dorota. "From Humanitarian Intervention (HI) to Responsibility to Protect (R2P)." *Criminal Justice Ethics* 29, no. 2(August 2010): 110-128.

Goodman, James. "Humanitarian Collective Security: Restoring Order?" *Global Networks* 13, no. 3(July 2013): 345-62.

Henderson, Christian. "Contested States and the Rights and Obligations of the JUS AD BELLUM." *Cardozo Journal Of International & Comparative Law* 21, no. 2(Winter 2013): 367-409.

Jensen, Eric Talbot. "Precautions Against the Effects of Attacks in Urban Areas." *International Review of the Red Cross* 98, no. 901(2016): 147-75.

Kuwali, Dan. "'Humanitarian Rights': Bridging the Doctrinal Gap Between the Protection of Civilians and the Responsibility to Protect." *Journal of International Humanitarian Legal Studies* 4, no. 1(2013): 5-46.

- Lazar, Seth. "Risky Killing and the Ethics of War." *Ethics* 126, no. 1(October 2015): 91-117.
- Lewis, Jeffrey G. and Scott D. Sagan. "The Nuclear Necessity Principle: Making U.S. Targeting Policy Conform With Ethics & the Laws of War." *Daedalus* 145, no. 4(Fall 2016): 62-74.
- Machairas, Dimitrios. "The Ethical Implications of the Use of Private Military Force: Regulatable or Irreconcilable?" *Journal Of Military Ethics* 13, no. 1(2014): 49-69.
- Moravcova, Sarka. "The Controversy Over Humanitarian Intervention and Responsibility to Protect." *Perspectives: Central European Review Of International Affairs* 22, no. 2(2014): 65-86.
- Muhammedally, Sahr. "Minimizing Civilian Harm in Populated Areas: Lessons From Examining ISAF and AMISOM Policies." *International Review Of The Red Cross* 98, no. 901(2016): 225-48.
- Recchia, Stefano. "Soldiers, Civilians, and Multilateral Humanitarian Intervention." *Security Studies* 24, no. 2(April 2015-June 2015): 251-83.
- Robinson, Isabel and Ellen Nohle. "Proportionality and Precautions in Attack: The Reverberating Effects of Using Explosive Weapons in Populated Areas." *International Review Of The Red Cross* 98, no. 901(2016): 107-45.
- Rossi, Christopher R. "The Responsibility to Protect and the Plenitudinal Mindset of International Humanitarian Law." *Journal of International Humanitarian Legal Studies* 5, no. 1-2(2014): 352-95.
- Sen, Rohini. "Use of Force and the 'Humanitarian' Face of Intervention in the 21st Century." *Wisconsin International Law Journal* 32, no. 3(Fall 2014): 457-84.
- Sterio, Milena. "Humanitarian Intervention Post-Syria Legitimate and Legal?" *Brooklyn Journal Of International Law* 40, no. 1(2014): 109-70.
- Wise, Paul H. "The Epidemiologic Challenge to the Conduct of Just War: Confronting Indirect Civilian Casualties of War." *Daedalus* 146, no. 1(Winter 2017): 139-54.

#### **IV. NATIONAL INTERESTS AND GLOBAL ORDER**

##### **Books, Government Documents, and Report Literature**

- Lempert, Robert J., et al. *Defense Resource Planning Under Uncertainty: An Application of Robust Decision Making to Munitions Mix Planning Publication Information*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2016.  
(UA 23.3 .L46 2016)  
([https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1100/RR1112/RAND\\_RR1112.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR1100/RR1112/RAND_RR1112.pdf))
- Mazarr, Michael J., et al. *Understanding the Current International Order*. Santa Monica : RAND, 2016.  
(JZ 1480 .M369 2016)([https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1598.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1598.html))
- O'Hanlon, Michael E. and Hassina.Sherjan . *Toughing It Out in Afghanistan*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2010.  
(DS 371.412 .O37 2010)
- O'Rourke, Ronald and Michael Moodie. *U.S. Role in the World: Background and Issues for Congress*. Washington: Congressional Research Service (CRS), 2017.  
(<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R44891.pdf>)
- Pezard, Stephanie, et al. *European Relations With Russia: Threat Perceptions, Responses, and Strategies in the Wake of the Ukrainian Crisis*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2017.  
([https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1579.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1579.html))
- Radin, Andrew and Clinton Bruce Reach. *Russian Views of the International Order*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2017.  
([https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1826.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1826.html))
- Rengger, N. J. *Just War and International Order: The Uncivil Condition in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.  
(U 21.2 .R45 2013)
- Ries, Charles P. *Improving Decisionmaking in a Turbulent World*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2016.  
(UA 23 .R547 2016)(<https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PE192.html>)
- United States. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa. *A Crisis Mismanaged: Obama's Failed Syria Policy*. Hearing. 113th Cong., 1st sess. Washington: GPO, 2013.  
(Gov Docs Y 4.F 76/1:113-32)

## JOURNALS

- Corte, Stefaan, et al. "The Next Multiannual Financial Framework: From National Interest to Building a Common Future." *European View* 11, no. 1(2012): 127-29.
- Engin Akēay and Mehmet Turan Şahin. "Revisiting International and Regional Responses to the War in Syria With a Special Emphasis on Turkish Approach." *South-East European Journal of Political Science* 3, no. 1(2015): 75-94.
- Ioffe, Grigory. "A Change in International Relations and a Thaw With the West." *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 11, no. 170(September 2014): 4-6.
- Michta, Andrew A. "Democracy Delusion." *American Conservative* 6, no. 16(August 2007): 25-27.
- Onate, Ínigo Arbiol. "The U.S. National Interest Redefinition and the Future of Its Leadership in Critical Regions Strong and Sustainable American Leadership?" *Challenges Of The Knowledge Society Bucharest* 6(2016): 829-34.
- Perruche, Jean-Paul. "From Exception to Facilitator: What Place for France in the EU/NATO Partnership in the Post-Cold War Global World?" *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 12, no. 4(December 2014): 432-42.
- Santos, Sofia. "The International Criminal Court and the Construction of International Public Order ." *Janus.Net: E-Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 2( November 2014-April 2015): 16-44.
- Sharma, Avi. "Who Leads in a G-Zero World? Multi-Nationals, Sustainable Development, and Corporate Social Responsibility in a Changing Global Order." *Washington International Law Journal* 24, no. 3(June 2015): 589-612.
- Shoup, Laurence H. "Dangerous Circumstances." *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine* 67, no. 4(September 2015): 12-22.
- Simon, Luis. "Europe, the Rise of Asia and the Future of the Transatlantic Relationship." *International Affairs* 91, no. 5(September 2015): 969-89.
- Stone, Diane. "Think Tank Transnationalisation and Non-Profit Analysis, Advice and Advocacy. " *Global Society: Journal of Interdisciplinary International Relations*. 14, no. 2(April 2000): 153-72.
- van de Haar, Edwin. "Hayekian Spontaneous Order and the International Balance of Power." *Independent Review* 16, no. 1(Summer 2011): 101-18.
- Zzrzte, Robert. "Values, National Interests and the Transatlantic Partnership's Future." *European View* 11, no. 2(December 2012): 215-23.

## V. INDUSTRIAL BASE AND ACQUISITIONS

### Books, Government Documents, and Report Literature

- Arena, Mark V., John Graser, and Paul DeLuca. *Implications of an Air Force Budget Downturn on the Aircraft Industrial Base: An Exploratory Analysis*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2013.  
(REPORT LITERATURE RAND RR-248-AF)([https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR248.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR248.html))
- Birkler, John, et al. *Keeping a Competitive U.S. Military Aircraft Industry Aloft: Findings From an Analysis of the Industrial Base*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2011.  
(REPORT LITERATURE RAND MG-1133-OSD)(RAND MG-1133-OSD)(<https://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG1133.html>)
- Markusen, Ann R. and Sean S. Costigan, eds. *Arming the Future: A Defense Industry for the 21st Century*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1999.  
(HC 110 .D4 A68 1999)
- Ruttan, Vernon W. *Is War Necessary for Economic Growth? Military Procurement and Technology Development*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.  
(HC 79 .T4 R878 2006)
- United States Congress, Office of Technology Assessment. *Building Future Security: Strategies for Restructuring the Defense Technology and Industrial Base*. Washington: GPO, 1992.  
(Gov. Doc: Y 3.T 22/2:2 SE 2)([http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/ota/Ota\\_1/DATA/1992/9205.PDF](http://govinfo.library.unt.edu/ota/Ota_1/DATA/1992/9205.PDF))

## JOURNALS

- Bitzinger, Richard A. "Reforming China's Defense Industry." *Journal Of Strategic Studies* 39, no. 5-6(October 2016): 762-89.
- Cypher, James M. "Emerging Contradictions of Brazil's Neo-Developmentalism: Precarious Growth, Redistribution, and Deindustrialization." *Journal Of Economic Issues* 49, no. 3(August 2015): 617-48.
- DeVore, Marc R. "Reinventing the Arsenal: Defense-Industrial Adaptation in Small States." *Korean Journal Of Defense Analysis* 28, no. 1(March 2016): 31-48.
- Schneider, Mark B. "The Future of the U.S. ICBM Force." *Comparative Strategy* 31, no. 2(April 2012-June 2012): 147-61.
- Steinbock, Dan. "The Erosion of America's Defense Innovation." *American Foreign Policy Interests* 36, no. 6(November 2014-December 2014): 366-74.
- Thornton, David W. "Consolidating the Defense-Industrial Base the Post-Cold War Era: Budgetary Priorities & Procurement Policies in the U.S. & Western Europe." *Public Finance & Management* 7, no. 3(September 2007): 295-339.
- Tiltiņš, Alekss and Baiba Šavriņa. "Alternative Military Keynesianism As a Tool of Civil-Military Cooperation in the Framework of the EU Defence Policy." *European Integration Studies* 9(2015): 20-33.

## **VI. NATO: BURDEN SHARING AND TREATIES**

### **Books, Government Documents, and Report Literature**

- Binnendijk, Hans. *Friends, Foes, and Future Directions: U.S. Partnerships in a Turbulent World: Strategic Rethink*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2016.  
([https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1210.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1210.html))
- Chivvis, Christopher S., et al. *NATO's Northeastern Flank: Emerging Opportunities for Engagement*. Santa Monica: RAND, 2017.  
([https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_reports/RR1467.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1467.html))
- Hillison, Joel R. *Stepping Up: Burden Sharing by NATO's Newest Members*. Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2014.  
(REPORT LITERATURE ADA611635)(<http://www.dtic.mil/docs/citations/ADA611635>)

### **JOURNALS**

- Carpenter, Ted Galen. "NATO's Worrisome Authoritarian Storm Clouds." *Mediterranean Quarterly* 26, no. 4(December 2015): 17-48.
- Cimbala, Stephen J. and Peter Kent Forster. "The US NATO and Military Burden Sharing: Post-Cold War Accomplishments and Future Prospects." *Defense & Security Analysis* 33, no. 2(June 2017): 115-30.
- Driver, Darrell. "Burden Sharing and the Future of NATO: Wandering Between Two Worlds." *Defense & Security Analysis* 32, no. 1(March 2016): 4-18.
- Haglund, David G. "'In Considerable Doubt'? Canada and the Future of NATO." *Journal Of Military & Strategic Studies* 13, no. 3(Spring 2011): 1-18.
- Henderson, Christian. "Contested States and the Rights and Obligations of the JUS AD BELLUM." *Cardozo Journal Of International & Comparative Law* 21, no. 2(Winter 2013): 367-409.
- Klunk, Kate. "Ukraine: Not Putting Itself on the Right Track for MAP?." *Penn State International Law Review* 28, no. 4(Spring 2010): 755-88.
- Mattelaer, Alexander. "Revisiting the Principles of NATO Burden-Sharing." *Parameters* 46, no. 1(Spring 2016): 25-33.
- Militaru, Alexandru, Cristian Petre, and Bogdan Roman. "Romania's Military Presence in NATO Operations ." *Romanian Military Thinking* 1(January 2014-March 2014): 55-59.
- Nikitin, Alexander I. "Post-Soviet Military-Political Integration: The Collective Security Treaty Organization and Its Relations With the EU and NATO." *China & Eurasia Forum Quarterly* 5, no. 1(2007): 35-44.
- Odehnal, Jakub. "Military Expenditures and Free-Riding in NATO." *Peace Economics, Peace Science, & Public Policy* 21, no. 4(December 2015): 479-87.

Recchia, Stefano. "Soldiers, Civilians, and Multilateral Humanitarian Intervention." *Security Studies* 24, no. 2(April 2015-June 2015): 251-83.

Weitz, Richard. "Shattered Hopes." *World Affairs*. 178, no. 3(Fall 2015): 84-91.



## VII. UN AND RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT

### Books, Government Documents, and Report Literature

- Behringer, Ronald M. *The Human Security Agenda: How Middle Power Leadership Defied U.S. Hegemony*. New York : Continuum, 2012.  
(JC 571 .B445 2012)
- Evans, Gareth and Mohamed Sahnoun. *The Responsibility to Protect; Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*. Ottawa, ON, Canada: International Development Research Centre, 2001.  
(<http://responsibilitytoprotect.org/ICISS%20Report.pdf>)
- Hehir, Aidan. *The Responsibility to Protect: Rhetoric, Reality and the Future of Humanitarian Intervention*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.  
(KZ 4082 .H44 2012)
- Johnson, James Turner, and Eric Patterson, eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Military Ethics. Justice, international law and global security*. Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015.  
(U 22 .A84 2015U 22 .A84 2015)
- Thakur, Ramesh Chandra. *The Responsibility to Protect Norms, Laws, and the Use of Force in International Politics*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Thakur, Ramesh Chandra, ed. *Theorising the Responsibility to Protect*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.  
(JZ 6369 .T47 2015)
- Thakur, Ramesh Chandra. *The United Nations, Peace and Security: From Collective Security to the Responsibility to Protect*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.  
(JZ 4984.5 .T43 2006)
- Weiss, Thomas George and Ramesh Chandra Thakur. *Global Governance and the UN: An Unfinished Journey*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010.  
(JZ 1318 .W447 2010)

## JOURNALS

- Abiew, Francis Kofi. "Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Redefining a Role for "Kind-Hearted Gunmen"." *Criminal Justice Ethics* 29, no. 2(August 2010): 73-109.
- Andreopoulos, George J., Leonid Lantsman, and Francis Kofi Abiew. "The Evolving Discourse on Human Protection.Humanitarian Intervention and the Responsibility to Protect: Redefining a Role for "Kind-Hearted Gunmen"." *Criminal Justice Ethics* 29, no. 22(August 2010): 71-9273-109.
- Aral, Berdal. "A Need for a Global Ethics of Humanitarian Intervention by the United Nations." *Global Studies Journal* 8, no. 2(2015): 11-21.

- Bailey, Christopher E. "The Responsibility to Protect" Doctrine: Syria 2014." *American Intelligence Journal* 31, no. 2(2013): 109-16.
- Bell, Andrew M. "Using Force Against the "Weapons of the Weak": Examining a Chemical-Biological Usage Criterion for Unilateral Humanitarian Intervention Under the Responsibility to Protect." *Cardozo Journal Of International & Comparative Law* 22, no. 2(Winter 2014): 261-320.
- Benjamin, Dave. "Protecting the Protectors: NGO Action and the Responsibility to Protect." *International Journal on World Peace* 26, no. 1(March 2009): 31-51.
- Benson, Michelle and Jacob D. Kathman. "United Nations Bias and Force Commitments in Civil Conflicts." *Journal Of Politics* 76, no. 2(April 2014): 350-363.
- Castillo, Melissa. "Recent Developments in the United Nations Shifting From Ideals and Principles to Action and Enforcement." *Temple International & Comparative Law Journal*; 30, no. 2(Fall 2016): 259-88.
- Cronogue, Graham. "Responsibility to Protect: Syria The Law, Politics, and Future of Humanitarian Intervention Post-Libya." *Journal of International Humanitarian Legal Studies* 3, no. 1(2012): 124-59.
- Dunne, Tim and Sarah Teitt. "Contested Intervention: China, India, and the Responsibility to Protect." *Global Governance* 21, no. 3(July 2015-September 2015): 171-91.
- Gierycz, Dorota. "From Humanitarian Intervention (HI) to Responsibility to Protect (R2P)." *Criminal Justice Ethics* 29, no. 2(August 2010): 110-128.
- Gray, Christine. "The 2015 Report on Uniting Our Strengths for Peace: a New Framework for UN Peacekeeping?" *Chinese Journal Of International Law* 15, no. 1(March 2016): 193-213.
- Jacob, Cecilia. "Evaluating the United Nation's Agenda for Atrocity Prevention: Prospects for the International Regulation of Internal Security." *Politics and Governance* 3, no. 3(2015): 16-26.
- Komp, Lisa-Marie. "How the Responsibility to Protect Influences the Security Council's Powers, Limits and Dynamic." *Journal of International Humanitarian Legal Studies* 4, no. 2(2013): 315-53.
- Kuwali, Dan. "'Humanitarian Rights': Bridging the Doctrinal Gap Between the Protection of Civilians and the Responsibility to Protect." *Journal of International Humanitarian Legal Studies* 4, no. 1(2013): 5-46.
- Lomborg, Bjorn. "Promises to Keep." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 6(November 2014-December 2014): 130-138.
- McLoughlin, Stephen. "From Reaction to Resilience in Mass Atrocity Prevention: An Analysis of the 2013 UN Report The Responsibility to Protect: State Responsibility and Prevention." *Global Governance* 22, no. 4(October 2016-December 2016): 473-89.
- Moravcova, Sarka. "The Controversy Over Humanitarian Intervention and Responsibility to Protect." *Perspectives: Central European Review Of International Affairs* 22, no. 2(2014): 65-86.

- Muhammedally, Sahr. "Minimizing Civilian Harm in Populated Areas: Lessons From Examining ISAF and AMISOM Policies." *International Review Of The Red Cross* 98, no. 901(2016): 225-48.
- Santos, Sofia. "The International Criminal Court and the Construction of International Public Order ." *Janus.Net: E-Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 2( November 2014-April 2015): 16-40.
- Thakur, Ramesh. "The Responsibility to Protect at 15." *International Affairs* 92, no. 2(March 2016): 415-34.
- van Steenberghe, Raphaël. "The Notions of the Responsibility to Protect and the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict: Detecting Their Association and Its Impact Upon International Law." *Goettingen Journal Of International Law* 6, no. 1(2014): 81-114.
- Welsh, Jennifer M. "The Responsibility to Protect After Libya & Syria." *Daedalus* 145, no. 4(September 2016): 75-87.
- Willmot, Haidi and Scott Sheeran. "The Protection of Civilians Mandate in UN Peacekeeping Operations: Reconciling Protection Concepts and Practices." *International Review of the Red Cross* 95, no. 891-892(December 2013): 517-38.
- Ziegler, Charles E. "Contesting the Responsibility to Protect." *International Studies Perspectives* 17, no. 1(February 2016): 75-97.